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LOOKING FORWARD

Do we dare to face the future intelligently? If we have sufficient courage to be intelligent we must first of all face the problems which our new conditions are thrusting upon us. In the two following articles we have the vital matter of the future approached from two different points of view. We earnestly commend them to the thoughtful reading of all those who are endeavoring to lead the world into a Christian civilization.

I. RELIGION AND THE RECONSTRUCTION

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The human race is passing through one of the most critical periods in recorded history. The outcome of the World-War will determine the destiny of political democracy. But the war is only an episode in the great world-movement now on, and the future of mankind may depend fully as much upon the issues of the Great Reconstruction that will follow.

For assuredly there will be a reconstruction after the war. It will be essentially economic and social as well as political; and there are reasons for expecting that it will be as far-reaching and revolutionary in its effects as the war is extensive and terrible. The reasons for expecting it are as available now as were the evidences of German imperial ambition four years ago. We should not have been caught unprepared then; it will prove equally tragic, perhaps more so, for the leaders of society to be caught unprepared again.

As the initial evidence that a great upheaval is impending we may consider the radical innovations that have been adopted as war measures. The govern-

ment is out-socializing the socialists. These changes all mean problems to be solved after the war. To make numerous and unprecedented industrial innovations during war time is a comparatively simple matter, but how to push the camel's nose out of the tent when the war is over is likely to prove very puzzling indeed.

A second line of evidence pointing to portentous events is the strained relations between capital and labor, and the consequent social unrest, that have prevailed increasingly for a generation. Numerous labor disturbances have occurred in the last five years that only the most euphemistic rhetoric can prevent us from recognizing as industrial war. The war has suspended this hostility temporarily; but anyone who imagines that it is more than temporary hides his head in the sand. Moreover, the significance of the labor unrest can be fully appreciated only when it is viewed as part of a world-movement. Whoever has followed the labor movement in Europe and America for the last year must realize, as Charles M. Schwab

is reported to have predicted lately, that the propertyless masses are about to assert themselves as never before in the control of the world's affairs. If we may believe an apparently well-informed writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July this movement is taking the form in Germany itself of a strong peace party who wish the war to cease so that they can proceed at once with a socialistic industrial revolution; and who are opposed by the Junkers and others who wish the war to continue as a means of averting the crash.

All of which means that there is a rising flood of industrial democracy sweeping over the entire western world. Hobson, the English economist, in his recent book, *Democracy after the War*, insists that without industrial democracy the forms of political democracy never have availed but little, and never will, since the beneficiaries of industrial privilege virtually own and actually control the state. He convinces his reader that when the war against autocracy is over the war against plutocracy will resume and carry on with unprecedented insistence. Even President Wilson has warned the country that when the men return from the trenches they will not submit again to the "industrial serfdom which some of them have endured."

But the most convincing evidence is from social evolution, not the short run but the long run. Never have causes more revolutionary been planted than in the last century. Once upon a time the domestication of plants and animals lifted mankind out of the savage stage and placed him on the agriculture-handicraft level. Thereupon men began

owning land, keeping slaves, building cities and temples, organizing states, and developing literatures. Recorded history began with the arrival of this stage of social evolution. Recently man has domesticated, so to speak, steam, electricity, bacteria, and the chemical combinations. Thereupon the curtain begins to rise upon a new world, as different from that of Washington and Lincoln as theirs was different from that of the Ojibways and the Iroquois. The agriculture-handicraft stage is ended; the machino-facture stage has arrived. But the accompanying social changes are only just begun. They will be as numerous, revolutionary, and far-reaching as the social changes which accompanied the shift from hunting to agriculture. All our institutions—government, the family, international relations, religion, the moral customs, property, law, art, and the technical environment—will be profoundly modified. Indeed, we stand upon the threshold of a new world. The future is pregnant with a new and higher civilization, as different from ours, and as unpicturable to our imaginations as ours would have been to the cave men. The Great War is the birth-pangs; in its more fundamental aspects it is the struggle between the old order and the new. Social revolutions are certain to follow with a sweep and a rush and to assume proportions almost apocalyptic. Out of these convulsions will be born a new social order in which "man to man, the warl o'er, shall brothers be for a' that." The Kingdom of God is indeed at hand; readjust your minds and receive the good news.

But with social evolution a thousand years is as a single day. Social progress

is certain, but it is not certain to be quiet and prompt. Utopian hopes have often been deferred before; and it may happen so again. The current presentiment of coming changes is too often accompanied with a sort of fatalistic optimism which arises out of nothing else than sociological ignorance and superstition. As a matter of fact social changes involve a sifting process in which the status and fortunes of whole classes are modified. If this can be done gradually, wisely, and justly, all is well. But when the fat are put on rations they unfortunately develop a tendency to resent the hardship; whereupon the hungry are liable to forget their table manners. Then ensues a red revolution and justice dies from premature abortion. Thus hope deferred maketh the world sick at heart; and a thousand generations cross the stage of life under the shadows of misery, ignorance, poverty, and despair. Such is the danger now. What reason is there to expect that the Hohenzollerns of American finance will yield their power or renounce their imperial ambitions? And he is blind who does not see that the war itself is strengthening some at least of the fortifications of privilege. Meantime the masses have not drunk the creed of liberty from their mothers' breasts to no avail. They will demand a true democracy; and their demand will accept no denial. And as between these contending parties, what evidences are there that the great middle class sees clearly where justice lies, so as to arbitrate wisely and justly? The great danger is that our problems may degenerate into conflicts; that appeal be made from brains to blood. If we are

to prevent this and bequeath to our children's children a peaceful world and the ripened fruits of democracy, we must bestir ourselves. For the social world of tomorrow will be precisely the kind of a world we succeed in making it. This is the task of the reconstruction; and it places upon us a responsibility which we shall eventually realize is at least as great as that imposed by the war itself.

Now the reorganization of society is fundamentally a moral reform and an intellectual task. This has never been as clearly discerned as it should have been; nor as it must be now. Political democracy is really but a means to an end, namely a satisfying life on the part of all. It is now becoming clear that industrial democracy is essential to the success of political democracy. But it must become equally clear that the most fundamental and essential democracy of all is a democracy of morals and intelligence. Without that no formal democracy will ever achieve its ends. As long as "the people" cannot agree as to what is just, or are ignorant of social cause and effect, they will have to be satisfied with the empty forms of democracy in which the real spirit of democracy is dead. For while the people disagree and squabble among themselves the beneficiaries of vested privilege seize the reins of social control. This has been the usual fate of popular uprisings; history repeats the episode with sickening monotony. The only remedy is for the will of the people to be "reasonably organized and morally determined."

The primacy of intellectual and moral forces may be stated in various academic formulas. Economic analysis

shows that intelligence and morality are the ultimate determinants of the production and distribution of wealth, i.e., of the technical instruments of civilization. Sociology makes clear that every reform proposed depends eventually for its success upon the intelligence and integrity of the persons who must be relied upon to make it work. Ethical philosophy demonstrates that morality is a sort of social *modus vivendi*, a settled system of mutual adjustment between individuals. Obviously, then, a new social order involves a new morality, a principle that any reader can abundantly illustrate out of historic readjustments. Social theory teaches that the institutions of society are but the objective manifestations of the subjective content of men's minds—their ideals, valuations, standards, codes, etc. The quality of institutions, then, depends upon the moral content of men's minds; and the reconstruction of objective institutions involves, accordingly, a subjective re-education of the people.

Again, the aim of the Great Reconstruction will be to produce a just political, industrial, and social world. The only reason, indeed, why we need a change is because the old order is not just. Now, is not justice strictly a moral consideration? The reorganization of society is essentially, therefore, a moral problem. It will accordingly require, in the first place, a new code. Many practices, customs, institutions, now approved will have to be condemned; new practices, customs, and institutions that are just and righteous will have to be invented. This can be achieved only by keen moral discernment. In the second place it will require

a renaissance of good-will. Justice can never be expected to emerge in a society where selfish individuals are struggling in an entirely submoral way each for his own interest. Instead of a just world you get a "balance of power" liable to explode like a Rupert's drop; instead of social justice you get a *laissez faire* society, in which to him that hath shall be given and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath. It has gradually been growing more evident for centuries that that is what ails the old régime. The only hope of a just world is to propagate the unselfish passion to be just until it becomes common to all. A co-operative social order can never be built out of a selfish, egoistic personnel. To put the new wine of socialism into the old bottles of individualism will only generate a social explosion. The old institutions were based on intelligent self-interest; if we are to have new and different institutions we must learn to generate altruistic idealism in undreamed of quantities. The reconstruction must be fundamentally a moral and spiritual renaissance. Except the age be born again it cannot see the Kingdom of God.

This may indicate the function of religion in the present crisis: to generate the spiritual enthusiasm, to motivate and furnish the moral insight, to guide the great reconstruction. And since a more important crisis has never occurred in human affairs, religion has never been confronted with a more serious responsibility nor a greater opportunity. It is of the most desperate importance to the future of mankind that there now appear religious leaders of prophetic vision com-

mensurate with magnitude of the present crisis.

To such a religious leadership some of the conventional interests of the church will appear small indeed, if not of negative value. Under such guidance the denominational fences will fall into decay. The sects must learn that which-ever seeketh its own life shall lose it. Survival is only in service. In times like these the ecclesiastic who thinks in terms of his own denomination and concerns himself primarily with its prosperity is a hindrance to the progress of Christianity. Overpastors should seek chiefly to co-operate with the overpastors of other sects to eliminate sectarian duplication, waste, and rivalry. Clergymen who complain of a leakage in membership, and point to the loose joints in the ecclesiastical machinery as the cause, reveal their essential blindness to the signs of the times. And does not history teach that in critical times, when a moribund church is conspicuously failing to meet the needs of the age, the sure symptom of its spiritual failure is an excessive multiplication of the ecclesiastical tax burden?

If religion is to perform a prophetic function the Christian philosophy of life must undergo a reconstruction compared with which the Protestant revolt was a relatively small matter. A magazine writer declared a few years ago that we are standing at the death bed of a great religion. Many of the old dogmas and incentives are dead. In that sense it was true. But the old religion is dead only as a seed is dead when it germinates in the ground. The germ of the old faith is bursting into

new and larger life. As a matter of fact we are witnessing the birth of a new religion more truly Christian than any the world has ever known. And if it grows promptly into a vigorous maturity it will give us a new and Christian world.

The new religion must shift its appeal from the individualistic to the social, group-preserving instincts. The old Christianity appealed directly to the instinct of self-preservation. The Pauline theology provided a plan of personal salvation for the individual—altruism was a by-product of the act of faith. But Jesus placed the religious life on a different basis altogether. He offered the Kingdom of God as a glorious cause, in self-forgetful service of which the disciple may lose himself. Personal salvation was an incidental by-product of such discipleship. He thus appealed directly, explicitly, and overtly to the altruistic, social, group-preserving impulses in human nature. The new Christianity must revert unequivocally from Paul to Jesus. This is the core of the new reformation.

Social psychology has revealed how large a place the group-preserving instincts occupy in human nature and the vital function they perform in human life. By them the self-forgetful mother is actuated; they are the driving force in the extreme sacrifices of patriotism; they motivate the noblest forms of service in behalf of humanity; they generate the loyalty which is the vital core of religious experience. Their latent force in human nature is undreamed of, as illustrated by the powerful idealism which our nation is developing in this present war, conducted for motives

that are almost entirely unselfish and altruistic. These impulses are capable of giving us a world so different from our own that the lion will indeed lie down with the lamb. But to get such a world we must develop a new type of religion.

As a matter of fact there are already thousands of young clergymen and others whose religious motives are of this sort, to whom the Kingdom of God is the great all, and to whom personal salvation is an incidental desideratum. Such are the salt of the earth; let them be true to their vision; let their prophetic voice ring in every soul until the social motive in religion becomes universal.

One important effect of this change of base ought to be to revitalize the old customary morality. The new religious insight ought to reveal the social function of common morality and so develop in Christian people a powerful altruistic motive for righteousness.

Since morality consists not only in good-will but also in a code, it follows that the new religion must furnish the new code for the new social order. As a matter of fact Christianity has always undertaken to apply Jesus' principles to concrete situations and prescribe what is right and what is wrong. True, the established church has often failed disgracefully in this function. Too often it has "kept out of politics," or else stood stolidly by vested wrongs long after their iniquity was obvious to all but their beneficiaries. History is full of instances. The church of the Old South upheld slavery, the German clergy are the servile apologists of pan-Germanism and frightfulness; the French church before the Revolution defended the old régime. In such cases

the authorized moral guides could see no injustice in slavery, no horror in brutal, selfish conquest, and no wrong in the cruel oppression of the French peasantry. Thus the ministers of Christianity hindered the cause of Christ because they could not distinguish right from wrong in the social systems of which they were themselves a part. Hence they disgraced the church for all time and threw such suspicion upon it that millions even now fear and hate it as the bulwark of existing social injustices. If the church is to vindicate herself in the present crisis our religious leaders must sift the present situation with unerring moral judgment. Concrete social sins must be branded. If there are slavery, autocracy, and feudalism in our industrial régime they must locate them as definitely as a surgeon locates a tumor, and bring the influence of religion unequivocally to bear upon the side of right and justice and against specific wrongs.

Contemporaneous religion has produced a few prophets who do distinguish right from wrong as clearly as Amos did, and who dare to speak their minds as fearlessly as Jeremiah. The names of Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch, and a few others will occur to the readers. Among the younger clergy the tacit disciples of these leaders are legion. Thousands of unordained religious teachers see the vision also. But men of this type should absolutely dominate the situation. The whole people must be educated and inspired to see through their eyes. For unless the "will of the people" is "morally determined" we shall muddle along for centuries through blood and fire.

God grant, therefore, that there may sweep over America a great awakening of this type of religion. History records revivals the effects of which have been far-reaching and profound. Is not the time ripe again? Is not the heart of the nation mellowed by the sufferings, the consecrations, and the vast idealism of this great war? Indeed, are there not signs that such a revival is all but here? Who will be Peter the Hermit for this crusade? What gathering will prove its Council of Clermont? *Deus vult!*

The importance of such a revitalizing of the spiritual situation can be appreciated only from the standpoint of conclusions reached in the first half of this article. If we are wrong in anticipating a reconstruction of the first magnitude, then it is no matter. But we cannot be wrong! This war is being fought to liberate the chrysalis into the butterfly

and impose a new law upon human life. The Germans appeal to the law of the survival of the fittest. If one looks to the past the validity of that law cannot be denied. But a new law supplants it. Water contracts with cold till it reaches the freezing-point, whereupon it expands! Similarly the strongest survive in the struggle until a certain degree of social crystallization is reached, when lo! it is the most co-operative and mutually helpful that survive. To this higher law we appeal. The Germans are wrong; for our part, it is a Christian world that we demand. And that will mean—one hardly dares to imagine how much it will mean at home, besides merely to defeat the Kaiser abroad! But if that Christian world is to come soon, safely, and without intervening tragedy we must all “search our hearts,” as President Wilson has suggested.

II. THE CHURCH AND THE COMING SOCIAL MOVEMENT

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I

The war has brought about amazing social emergencies and is forcing the United States and the world into the most radical and far-reaching forms of co-operative effort. It has seen an unprecedented advance of labor organization and collective bargaining, the eight-hour day, fixing of wages to meet advancing cost of living, equal pay for

women, modern standards of housing and of welfare conditions in war industries, social insurance, and federal organization for unemployment. National control of capital, industry, labor power, food production, conservation, and distribution, which would have been impossible two years ago, have been forced by war conditions. It has also witnessed an enormous development of social